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BY

Prof. E. J. JAMES.



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## PAPERS READ BEFORE THE ASSOCIATION.

Papers out of Print are not included in this List.

- The work of the Constitutional Convention.* By A. Sydney Biddle.  
*What shall Philadelphia do with its Paupers?* By Dr. Isaac Ray.  
*Proportional Representation.* By S. Dana Horton.  
*Statistics Relating to Births, Deaths, Marriages, etc., in Philadelphia.* By John Stockton Hough, M. D.  
*On the Value of Original Scientific Research.* By Dr. Ruschenberger.  
*On the Relative Influence of City and Country Life on Morality, Health, Fecundity, Longevity, and Morality.* By John Stockton Hough, M. D.  
*The Public School System of Philadelphia.* By James S. Whitney.  
*The Utility of Government Geological Surveys.* By Prof. J. P. Lesley.  
*The Law of Partnership.* By J. G. Rosengarten.  
*Methods of Valuation of Real Estate for Taxation.* By Thomas Cochran.  
*The Merits of Cremation.* By Persifor Frazer, Jr.  
*Outlines of Penology.* By Joseph R. Chandler.  
*Hygiene of the Eye, Considered with Reference to the Children in our Schools.* By Dr. F. D. Castle.  
*The Relative Morals of City and Country.* By William S. Pierce.  
*Silk Culture and Home Industry.* By Dr. Samuel Chamberlaine.  
*Mind Reading, etc.* By Persifor Frazer, Jr.  
*Legal Status of Married Women in Pennsylvania.* By N. D. Miller.  
*The Revised Statutes of the United States.* By Lorin Blodgett.  
*Training of Nurses for the Sick.* By John H. Packard, M. D.  
*The Advantages of the Co-operative Feature of Building Associations.* By E. Wrigley.  
*The Operations of our Building Associations.* By Joseph I. Doran.  
*Free Coinage and a Self-Adjusting Ratio.* By Thomas Balch.  
*Building System for Great Cities.* By Lorin Blodgett.  
*Metric System.* By Persifor Frazer, Jr.  
*Cause and Cure of Hard Times.* By R. J. Wright.  
*House-Drainage and Sewerage.* By George E. Waring, Jr.  
*A Plea for a State Board of Health.* By Benjamin Lee, M. D.  
*The Germ-Theory of Disease, and its Present Bearing upon Public and Personal Hygiene.* By Joseph G. Richardson, M. D.  
*Technical Education.* By A. C. Rembaugh, M. D.  
*The English Methods of Legislation Compared with the American.* By S. Sterne.  
*Thoughts on the Labor Question.* By Rev. D. O. Kellogg.  
*On the Isolation of Persons in Hospitals for the Insane.* By Dr. Isaac Ray.  
*Philadelphia Charity Organization.* By Rev. Wm. H. Hodge.  
*Public Schools in their Relations to the Community.* By James S. Whitney.  
*Industrial and Decorative Art in Public Schools.* By Charles G. Leland.  
*Penal and Reformatory Institutions.* By J. G. Rosengarten.  
*Nominations for Public Office.* By Mayer Sulzberger.  
*Municipal Government.* By John C. Bullitt.  
*Apprenticeship as it Was and Is.* By Addison B. Burk.  
*The American Aristocracy.* By Lincoln L. Eyre.  
*A Plea for a New City Hospital.* By Thomas W. Barlow.  
*The Pending School Problems.* By Professor M. B. Snyder.  
*Municipal Government.* By Wm. Righter Fisher.  
*Social Condition of the Industrial Classes.* By Lorin Blodgett.  
*Progress of Industrial Education.* By Philip C. Garrett.  
*A Plea for Better Distribution.* By Charles M. Du Puy.  
*Milk Supply of our Large Cities, etc., etc.* By J. Cheston Morris, M. D.  
*Alcohol.* By A. C. Rembaugh.  
*Outline of a Proposed School of Political and Social Science.* By Edmund J. James, Ph. D.



## OUTLINE OF A PROPOSED SCHOOL OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE.

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In few countries in the world is the study of Political Science so universal as in America. It is represented in some of its branches in all grades of educational institutions, from the elementary school of the rural district to the college and university. It is studied not only by those boys who expect to make a profession of law and politics, but by those who intend to follow other professions and callings as well. The future clergyman, physician, merchant, college professor—of whatever branch—have all studied Political Economy and Constitutional Law, if they finished a college course before taking up their professional study. The future civil engineer, chemist, geologist and mining engineer have all given more or less attention to these subjects if they prepared themselves for their work in a higher technical school or college. The artisan, carpenter, mason, cabinet-maker and clerk, so far as they have finished the average high school course in our towns and cities, are also acquainted with the elements of the same subjects, and in some of our states even the ungraded country schools offer a certain amount of instruction in these branches. Nor do our schools rest content with offering such instruction to the boys, but, so far as they are mixed schools, the same advantages are open to the girls, and even the schools exclusively for girls nearly all incorporate these subjects in their curricula.

The study of such subjects is not by any means confined to the schools. Besides those individuals, to be found in every society, who take up the study of Political Science merely from love for it, there are several organizations in the United States which have been formed for the special purpose of encouraging

such study in the mass of the people, and several other organizations which give more or less attention to the same general end. The newspapers, debating clubs and lyceums all contribute powerfully toward exciting and maintaining a general interest in Political Science.

The reason for such wide-spread interest is, of course, not far to seek. In a republic based upon universal suffrage, it is but fair to demand that every voter should possess at least an elementary knowledge of the institutions and laws under which he lives, and it is still more important that the schools should contribute their share towards the spread of such knowledge among the pupils attending them.

Although the study of Political Science is thus wide-spread, yet it has never been very detailed and thorough. Extension and intension have been in this case as in so many others in inverse ratio. While nearly every one has learned something about such subjects in school, no one has learned very much. The work done in the average schools and colleges, so far as it is anything more than a mere presentation of the facts of our political system, is extremely superficial.

There is a reason for this fact which is not far to seek. In a new country where social and economic conditions are still of a somewhat primitive type; where there is an abundance of fertile land; where the population is still mainly agricultural and widely scattered, there is not likely to be any great pressure upon the people to study the methods and principles of public administration. A loose, unscientific, wasteful method of doing public business can be easily borne where the total amount of wealth to be wasted by public officers is very small, and where it is much more lucrative for the average citizen to attend to his business and let some one else who has no business of his own attend to that of the public. Under such circumstances few can see any advantage in studying problems of government and society which seem to be solving themselves as society progresses.

Of late years, however, a demand has arisen for better opportunities for the study of Political Science. This has been met to a partial extent by our higher schools. Nearly all the colleges have tried to add something to their curricula in this direction. The most marked advance, however, has been made



as might be fairly expected by those institutions which were able to adopt elective systems of study. These elective systems are of two types: that of elective studies which is characteristic of Harvard, and that of elective courses which is characteristic of Cornell. At both these institutions of late years marked advance has been made in the opportunities offered in these branches, and the large number of students entering the classes in these subjects, gives evidence of the increasing interest in their pursuit.

Three institutions have gone still further in the cultivation of these subjects. The University of Pennsylvania, Columbia College and the University of Michigan have established special departments of Political Science, with what practically amounts to prescribed courses of study. The increasing number of students at all these centers, gives added evidence of public interest in these branches.

The reasons for this great advance are to be found in the changing character of our national economy. The last twenty-five years have brought a great and growing complication into the political and social problems of our national existence. We have become a great manufacturing people of enormous wealth and of growing poverty, with an exceedingly mixed population, of which a large per cent. dwell in cities. Our political institutions which took their shape when the country contained a fairly homogeneous population, mostly engaged in agriculture, and with no great extremes of wealth or poverty, have proved themselves no longer adequate to satisfy the complicated conditions of our present life. A form of government well suited to a small community of farmers of equal wealth, of the same origin, of similar education, possessing the same traditions, has broken down completely when applied to the crowded population of a great city, composed of the very wealthy and of the wretchedly poor, of Anglo-Saxon, Latin, Celt, Chinese, Hungarian, White, Black and Yellow; of men of high education and of no education; of Roman Catholic, of Protestant, of Heathen. The notorious failure of our political system when applied to large cities, has excited the gravest apprehensions and wide-spread attention, which could not but result in a wider and deeper study of our social problems. The growing complexity of national and

local administration has contributed to the same result. The enormous increase in the burden of public taxation as well as the rapidly growing amount of public indebtedness, have also set men to thinking along these lines. It is now beginning to pay better for the average American to give a little attention to efficiency and economy in public administration, than to devote all his time to his own business, that is to say, he can make more by saving than earning—a very new state of affairs in the United States of America. All these things have co-operated to direct the attention of college authorities to the necessity of favoring those studies bearing directly on such questions, and the attention of the public to the necessity of furnishing college authorities with the funds indispensable to this work. The result has been the great extension above described in the facilities offered for such study.

Great, however, as this increase has been, it has not kept pace with the growing needs of our society. We stand face to face to-day with a vast number of social and economic problems which are almost vital in their nature; which, for their proper solution, demand the most detailed and patient investigation of facts and principles. And yet, in all this broad country, we have no center where such questions are the leading objects of investigation. When we are obliged to act, as at times act we must, the lack of knowledge is painfully apparent, and as such knowledge is not acquired in a day or an hour, the blindest kind of experimentation takes the place of intelligent and thoughtful action.

Take for example the subject of education. The last census revealed the astonishing fact that there were in 1880, nearly 5,000,000 of persons over ten years of age who were unable to read. Now comparatively few children who have not learned to read by the age of ten years, ever acquire the facility afterwards, so that we may say in general that thirteen out of every hundred voters in the United States, confessed in 1880, that they could not read the ballots which they were entitled to cast. When we consider further, that every one was classed as able to read who could spell b-a ba; b-i bi; b-o bo, we can get some idea what vast numbers of our fellow citizens are practically shut off from any intercourse with the intelligence of the modern



world. It would not be too much to say that twenty-five per cent. of the legal voters of this country should be classed as illiterate. If we regard moreover the fact that almost none of our large centres of population provide adequate school-room and fairly good teachers even for the children who wish to attend school, while thousands and tens of thousands of children in our great industrial centres are growing up without ever seeing the inside of a school-house, we must surely acknowledge that we are front to front with one of the greatest problems of the time. Now, where in this country is there a centre at which this problem is being investigated? Where are there men who are giving any great amount of time and thought to ascertaining the fact or to considering the remedy? Numerous proposals have been made in Congress to grant aid from the national treasury for the support of elementary schools. But it is very evident that many of them have been made by men who never gave any great attention to investigation of the problem.

Take another example—the railroad question. We are rapidly getting to a point where action of some kind is sure to be taken by the National Government. And yet even now, there is scarcely an important question of theory or fact in railroad economy which may fairly be regarded as settled. Does it cost more relatively for a short haul than a long one? For a small shipment than a large one? Or if it does, do our railroads as at present managed recognize this difference and act consistently in regard to it? What would be the probable effect of a general law, if it could be enforced, which should absolutely forbid discrimination between the large and small shipper, and between the long and short haul? Would the fixing of tolls by the government tend to discourage the investment of capital in railroad enterprises? Would the elimination of discrimination tend to favor unduly the growth of small industries? Would it allow a more natural development of our national industry? And a score of similar questions all of immense importance in this connection, and yet none receiving to-day any adequate attention on the part of anybody. There is a large and valuable continental experience in this subject which is to us almost a sealed book. There is no place in this country where a man who wishes to study in detail the relation of the railway to the

State can find such advantages as will repay him for a year's residence. The railway question itself is only one of a large class relating to corporations and their functions, all of which stand very much in need of close and careful study.

Take still another question. The relations of labor and capital—factory laws, strikes, arbitration, etc. We have already arrived at a point where the industry of the country is subject to periodical attacks of the worst kind, from the positive conflict of laborers and employers. Mobs and riots are becoming a matter of almost daily occurrence in our industrial centres. Here a laborer is killed, and there an employer is almost beaten to death. Now the travel of a large city is almost entirely suspended owing to a strike of street car employes; and again the traffic of a whole section or of a whole country is suspended by the strike of locomotive engineers and brakemen. Are not these serious enough symptoms to satisfy even the most skeptical that there is a social problem, and that no amount of crying "away with it! away with it!" will solve it? And yet where is this subject receiving the attention which it deserves? He must be blind, indeed, to the lessons of history and to the facts of our daily life, who believes that any amount of proving to a laborer by Political Economy that he loses by a strike, is going to do away with the difficulty. Optimistic beyond reason is he, who having proved to his own satisfaction, that the laborer is getting an increased share of the product, supposes that the social problem will solve itself. Suppose the laborer uses this increased share to keep up the fight, will that tend to solve the issue satisfactorily? Now, at what educational or other centre is this question being investigated on a large scale by such methods as promise to throw light upon it; and where can one go who desires to study it and be reasonably sure of finding the literature on the subject which is necessary to give him a broad view of the labor movement of to-day, which has long since ceased to be of merely local and even of national importance.

Thus I might go on and pick out one problem after another, which is pressing upon us for solution, and for the study of which we have as yet but few facilities. But these will illustrate sufficiently the point I have in mind. Now, wherever such



problems exist, (and they exist in every old society and in some new ones), there is a need of encouragement to the study of such problems. Such encouragement in some form or other, is given in every European country. In France, for example, prizes are offered by the government for special studies on these topics, and certain positions in the civil service are open only to those who have achieved distinction in the investigation of these problems. In Germany, Austria and Italy the universities admirably organized are the centres of such study and social distinction, and official preferment are the reward of those who excel in it.

In view of these facts then, we may surely claim that in a society like ours ; where every sound minded man is allowed to participate in the making and execution of the laws, not only indirectly by being permitted to vote for legislative and administrative officials, but also very often directly by being personally chosen to such important posts himself, where public opinion is largely moulded by the press, and where the higher schools and colleges attempt to instruct in the duties and privileges of citizenship, it is fitting and proper there should be some centre where the subject-matter of society and its government should become the object of special and thorough study and investigation.

Such a centre may be created in a properly organized school of Political Science. I believe that the time has come in the evolution of our society, when there is a demand for such a school upon a broader and more generous basis, than any which have as yet been established. Educational progress is measured by the rise and development of new varieties of schools. There is no more striking characteristic of modern as distinguished from ancient times, than this vast increase in the kinds of schools. Antiquity knew practically of only one or two where we have established a score or more. Even as late as one hundred and twenty-five years ago, we had only one kind of school in this country—the old-fashioned college with its Latin, Greek, Mathematics and New Testament study. No Law school ; no Medical school ; no Dental school ; no Veterinary school ; no Agricultural school ; no school of Pharmacy ; no Business college ; no Normal school ; no school of Mining or of Engineer-

ing ; of Design ; of Industrial Arts ; no special school of any kind with the exception of Theological Seminaries. Every step of our educational progress has been marked by the rise of one of these kinds of schools. Every one of these advances was met by incredulity ; by ridicule ; by confident declarations on the part of the many, that there was no demand for such a thing ; that you couldn't teach Medicine or Law or Dentistry or Agriculture. They were all arts, and had to be acquired, so to speak, by hand.

Perhaps the greatest single stride was made not so very long ago, when a breach was finally made in the Chinese wall, which had been built up about the old-fashioned college. The proposed establishment of the scientific course in connection with the classical, the farther proposition to introduce the modern studies as elective with the antiquities, were met by a most determined opposition, justifying its action on the ground, that the introduction of these new studies, would be the death-knell of the old. What was the result of the inevitable victory of the progressive party—a diminution in the numbers attending the old courses ? By no means. Simply an immensely larger number of young men and women was attracted by these new courses, who would never have been reached by the old.

There is a profoundly philosophic reason underlying this process. Opening new lines of study which reach down into the mass of the people, is like sinking new shafts in a mining district. It opens up entirely new veins of unsuspected wealth, which might have remained concealed forever if this particular shaft had not been sunk. There is an infinite variety of tastes and types of mind, and an infinite variety of science. The infinitude of the one corresponds to the infinitude of the other, and we shall achieve the highest results in utilizing all the variety of talent, only when we have placed within its reach all the variety of Art and Science. Just as in a mining district, if you were to sink a single shaft and insist that all minerals mined should be gotten at through that alone, you would inevitably limit your production ; so in the wider field of national intellect you will inevitably bind and cramp and smother intellectual life and energy, if you insist that it shall all come to light through one or two or even three channels. I believe that the explana-



tion of the wonderful material progress of modern free communities lies, to a large extent, in the simple fact that we have begun at last, for the first time in the history of the world, to utilize a small part of the infinite intellectual power of the race. A boy who is a dunce at his Latin and Greek, may, in the field of electricity, revolutionize the future conditions of life for the race, just as another who is a dunce in the laboratory may guide a great nation through times of storm and stress into the harbor of peace and safety. This means that in the field of education, we must have new schools and new courses of study to call forth the tastes and abilities which have not and never will respond to efforts along the old lines. And I believe that the time has now come, when a school of Political Science can fill a great want in calling forth a type of mind which we have not yet utilized, and which we shall greatly need in our future history.

A school of this kind to be a success, must do one or both of two things. It must offer liberal courses of study which shall be of more or less interest to all liberally educated men, or else it must offer a practical training, which is directly or indirectly a preparation for some recognized calling; or better yet, combine the two. That is to say it must be either liberal or professional in its character.

A school of Political and Historical Science, properly organized, may be both. It would offer courses which would be of interest and value to the man who is looking forward to teach these subjects in our seminaries and colleges; to the future journalist who is to discuss these questions every day in the columns of his newspaper; to the future lawyer who will be called to legislate on these subjects in our assemblies; to the business man whose interest is affected at every point by governmental policy in regard to these subjects, and to the liberally minded man of whatever calling, who wishes to perform his duties as a citizen, intelligently, and who may be called upon at any time to legislate and administer upon all the matters.

There is a common body of knowledge necessary to the highest type of work in all these directions which properly falls within the scope of such a school. A course of study embracing:

(a) *Political Economy*.—The science which treats of the relations of man in society to the physical world about him, and of the conditions which determine the production and distribution of material wealth.

(b) *Social Science*.—That wider branch which discusses all the social forces and institutions which affect the material and moral well-being of society.

(c) *Constitutional and Administrative Law*.—So-called civil government, with sets forth the facts and principles of government in general, and of that form in particular under which we live.

(d) *History*.—Political and constitutional which describes to us how we have become what we are, and thus furnishes us grounds for a judgment as to our future course such a curriculum must lie at the basis of the highest form of work in teaching the duties of citizenship, either in our elementary or higher schools, or in practicing the professions of law and journalism, or in taking part as a legislator in the making of our laws or even in the preparation of every citizen who would take a prominent part in politics in the best sense of the term.

A school of Historical and Political Science which is to do the best possible work for the community, must be built up on the solid foundation of this common body of knowledge. It should then add to this nucleus special courses looking directly toward the particular callings which its students intend to follow.

Now, let us see what a school of this kind could do for the community. To those boys who expect to take up the study of the law, it could offer a valuable preparation or supplement to that work. Besides the courses mentioned above, it should provide for this class additional courses in Roman Law, in the general principles of jurisprudence, and in International Law; also more detailed courses in public law—both constitutional and administrative, *i. e.*, in those branches which our Law Schools, as at present organized, almost utterly neglect, and yet which are very necessary if the student would get a real insight into the broad principles underlying all systems of jurisprudence. The place for the thorough study of this class of subjects is not in a Law School—



at least in any Law School now in existence. The legal point of view and the politico-scientific point of view, are as widely different as the East is from the West, even where the subject matter is the same. The Law School, the world over, is engaged in preparing its students for a state examination, which is made the condition of entering a legal career. This examination, at present conducted, is mainly directed toward ascertaining whether the applicant possesses such a knowledge of private law—statute, common or judicial law as will enable him to take the conduct of cases before the courts. The law student as a law student wishes to know the law as it is for the purpose of utilizing his immediate knowledge in his immediate practice. He does not care particularly whether the law is good or bad; whether it is founded on a just principle or not. He desires to know simply what the law is in order to utilize it for his purposes, whether good or bad or indifferent. The student of political science wishes to know why the law is so, and whether it can not be made better. He tries to ascertain the economic or historic or philosophical basis of a law, its relation to other laws and to other systems, etc. Some one has well described this difference by saying that the law student busies himself *de legibus quæ nunc sunt*, i. e. existing laws, while the student of Political Science busies himself *de legibus ferendis* with the laws as they should be. This is such a fundamental difference that it will prevent any healthy combination of the two objects within one school, so that each shall receive its due weight. The standing of the legal profession in this country is not relatively as high as it once was. This is to be attributed, I believe, not only to the fact that other callings have risen in general intelligence, but also to the fact that the legal profession has not been rising, but has remained practically stationary. It does not seem probable that it will ever be practicable in this country to insist on a long preparatory training along the old liberal lines of study for admission to this profession. But it might be possible to demand and obtain an extensive course of preparation along the lines indicated above, as a condition of admission, if the efforts were made in the right way. Such a course would, in many respects, be of more value than the former.

For those boys who are preparing for journalism in addition

to the minimum courses prescribed above, there should be courses in Physical and Political Geography, in the facts relating to the governments and policies of other nations, international law and treaties, in a word along those lines which are of immediate and prime importance to a man who is expected to write intelligently upon all the questions of contemporary politics at home and abroad. For such boys, the school might be made a professional school in a still more narrow sense by adding practical training in English composition, followed up by actual drill as reporters in connection with a newspaper, and later the art of editorial writing, with a view to developing and perfecting an ability to take in at a glance the salient points of an event or industry, and presenting them in a terse and intelligible way. Such a course could not fail to have a most healthy influence on the journalism of the country.

For those wishing to prepare for business, in addition to the minimum courses presented above, facilities should be offered for the study of the theory and practice of accounting, in the management of property, in the principles and practice of commercial law, in the history, organization and administration of the great departments of business, such as banking, railroading, merchandising, manufacturing and other similar branches. It has been one of the great problems of higher education to secure its diffusion among the business men of a community. It used to be a very wide spread idea, that if a boy intended to go into business, there was no necessity of his going to college. As a consequence, only those boys went to college who expected to go into the so-called learned professions, and the complaint, indeed, is very general nowadays that it destroys a boy's usefulness for business even if he be sent through a high school. It can not be denied that the tendency of our so-called higher education is what might be called strictly professional. The fact that most college graduates go into the professions is, of course, not to be wondered at in the light of the fact mentioned above, that only those boys are sent who are expected from the very first to enter the professions and the so-called liberal courses of those old institutions, was originally established as a special preparation for the professions. Of late years with the addition of the new branches, a change in this respect has begun to take place. But



we need not hope to get higher education generally diffused in the business community until we evolve a higher education, which stands in somewhat closer relation to their actual work than the Latin, Greek and Mathematics of an old-fashioned college course. It is possible to evolve such an education along the lines described above. Business life in any of its departments touches at numerous points the great sphere of social and political science—must solve, indeed, in a practical way and for a given time and place, some of the most vexed questions of theory. The tracing out of the relations of one branch of business to others, and to the type of society in which it flourishes, and the study of the relations of employer and employé to each other, and to the society of which they form a part, may constitute a pursuit no less liberalizing and disciplinary in its tendencies than the study of literature and art, and a pursuit it must be added which, in combination with a practical course, is much more likely to attract boys of a business turn of mind than the literary or scientific courses of our present schools.

There is still another and a very large class in the community which would find in such a school, a professional training for their future work, and they are the teachers of historical and political science in our schools and colleges. There are probably twenty-five hundred institutions in this country above the grade of an elementary school where history and political science in its elements at least, are taught. In a large number of these, special teachers for these two subjects above are employed. Until a very recent date, these teachers had almost no opportunity to prepare themselves for their special work. And even now the opportunities as I have shown above, are still very limited. These teachers would get the professional preparation which they need in such a school. Additional courses in methods of historical and economic investigation, in the history and educational aspects of these sciences should be added for the benefit of this last class. It is from those who expect to devote their lives to the study and teaching of these subjects in our colleges and universities and special schools, that we must largely look for an advance in the methods and theories of these sciences, and it is mainly to the public school teacher that we must look for a general diffusion of this knowledge in the com-

munity at large. Both classes must, themselves, however, receive an adequate training in the methods and principles of imparting this knowledge if they are to do the best work along these lines. There is only one institution so far as I know in this country, where the soundness of this view is practically recognized, and that is the University of Michigan. In their department of Political Science, a course of lectures is offered in the History of Education.

There is another class which may be mentioned here. In the course of educational progress in this country, we have evolved a peculiar officer—unknown, I believe, in any other system—known as City Superintendent of Schools. In our educational condition, he is a necessity, and his numbers are rapidly increasing. Such an officer should be rarely well equipped in all educational knowledge. It is only within four or five years that any provision has been made for his special education, and those provisions are still very meager. Such a man should have not only a special knowledge of education in its professional aspects, relating to methods of teaching, school organization, etc., but he should have a broad view of the relation of education to all the departments of national life and of the connection of educational institutions with the other institutions of a people. Such a view can be best attained by a comprehensive study of society, its basis, its growth, its institutions. A school of historical and political science, by adding to its general courses special courses in educational organization, could offer a most valuable professional preparation to this important rapidly growing class of public officers.

I have thus far spoken of classes which exist in our society, and which need the advantage of such a school. Let us turn to another class—which is not quite here, but is certainly on the road—the professionally educated public servant. We have begun to put our civil service on a sound basis. It will never be fully there until it is generally recognized that a man, who has had a special training in the study of civil society and its government, is, as a rule, better fitted for an important administrative position than one who has not had that training. A school of Historical and Political Science can become a professional school for certain branches of the public service.



It has not been very long since the President of the United States looked the country over for a man fitted to take charge of a national bureau of statistics, and after long months of search, was finally compelled to take a man whose time was already fully occupied with the care of a state bureau. Now such a school as I have described, by adding special courses in the principles and methods of statistics, and in the organization and working of statistical bureaus, could turn out a set of students who would be amply able to fill the highest demands which we could fairly make in this respect.

It could prepare men for other important administrative positions by adding courses in the principles and methods of public accounting, and in the organization and management of government departments—national, state and local. There is certainly need of such instruction in a country where it is almost impossible to make head or tail of the average financial reports of public bodies, and where even the accounts of the National Government itself can scarcely be understood by the President or his Cabinet officers.

Two objections may be raised to this feature of the plan. One may say, what is the advantage of having educated men of this type for our ordinary administrative positions? They have to learn the business practically, anyhow, before they can perform the duties of the position, and they are generally of such a character that every man of ordinary intelligence and fair education, can perform the duties satisfactorily. I would answer, that it makes an infinite difference to a country, as a whole, whether its administration is in the hands of mere routinists, such as uneducated men nearly always are, or whether it is in the hands of educated and thoughtful agents. The latter, it is true, may sometimes, though this is not generally so, not perform the routine duties of the position any better than the former, but the attitude of the two toward their work, and the result of this attitude is enormously different. The routinist is satisfied with things as they are, and as owing to his lack of intelligence, he finds it difficult to adapt himself to other ways of doing things, he is by nature, bitterly opposed to every reform, which must always be forced upon him from the outside. His work to him is drudgery.

The collection of a particular kind of tax in a particular way, is to him simply the levying of a tax.

A yellow primrose by the brink  
A yellow primrose is to him  
And nothing more.

The educated man, on the contrary, sees even in these dry details of routine work the far-reaching effects, the economic and social advantages and disadvantages connected with this or that particular mode of doing things. He is always on the lookout for new ways of improving his service. And it is, at this point, that his training in historical or political science becomes of immense—and untold advantage to him and to the country. An educated civil service means an army of professional students of the methods and principles of government. And this means an enormous contribution to the problems of civil society, a contribution which we shall not be long able to dispense with. The advantage of such a service we do not fully appreciate, because we do not fully appreciate the loss we incur from our present form. A man in walking through a mining region, may pass a nugget of gold, which would have made him rich for life if he had only glanced in its direction. He passes on and in utter unconsciousness of what an opportunity has escaped him, wanders through life a tramp and a beggar. So a community, a state, a nation lives on for generations with an ignorant people and an ignorant public service, utterly unaware of what higher levels are open to it, until by accident, power drifts into the hands of intelligence when a revelation of the possibilities first comes to their minds.

Such a school would become a centre where the great problems of government in every department would receive careful and continuous study, which could not but result in many valuable contributions of a theoretical and practical nature toward their solution. It would send forth a set of men well acquainted with both the practical and theoretical aspects of such questions as the care of the poor and of the unfortunate classes, education, etc., etc., from whose numbers those could be selected who might be best fit to assist in the practical work of managing our public institutions or serving as members of supervising



boards. Unfit men are now too often appointed because the number of really well prepared candidates for such positions is very small, and when all are equally unprepared, there seems to be no reasons why political considerations shall not decide the question.

But some one may say, suppose we grant the truth of these considerations, what students could you attract to prepare themselves for the public service? What inducements under our present system of civil service, can you offer to young men to prepare for this career? I am sorry to say, that they are not as yet, very great or very numerous. But they are still very substantial, and I believe would attract a number of young men. In this case, as in many others, supply not only follows demand, but supply creates demand. Given a number of specially educated young men, let them come in competition with a number of half-educated young men, and I believe, that even with our civil service as it is, for very many positions, at least, the latter would have no chance at all, and the number of positions coming within this category, will increase with every advance in the standing of our civil service.

Such a school should turn out many men able and skillful in investigating economic and social facts: men who would be in great demand for commissions of various kinds, such as our legislatures and Congress are constantly creating for the study of certain topics like taxation, city government, railroads, Indian Question and the like; commissions whose reports seldom have much value, because their members seldom have much fitness for the work.

Let us now, in the light of the preceding considerations, again briefly describe the kind of school we have in mind. It will be a school with a certain minimum prescribed course in Political Economy, Social Science, Civil Government and History; and in addition, a number of special elective courses, looking toward the particular calling which the student expects to take up. Each student for graduation will be expected to take the minimum course, and one of the elective courses corresponding to his future work. The course would be three years in length; the first year or more being given to the prescribed, and the last two years or less to the elective courses. The degree to be given,

should be either Bachelor or Doctor of Political Science, according to the previous preparation and courses taken in the school.

Now, what would be the relation of such a school toward our existing institutions? It has already been indicated in the word so frequently used above—professional. It would stand on the same footing as the Medical or Dental or Law schools, except that it should insist on a higher grade of acquirement for admission, than these schools. In the case of candidates for its degree, it might fairly enough insist upon such a degree of mental maturity and knowledge, as the average Junior in our better colleges possesses. The Doctor's degree might be open only to those who had graduated at college or some similar institution before coming. But the courses should certainly be open to those who possess mental maturity enough to profit by them, whether they have been in college or not. It should carve a way for itself, down into the heart of the masses, and outline special courses of preparation for itself, such as might attract the type of mind peculiarly fitted for such study.

Two objections will be made to this plan: One will come from the practical man, and one from the college president. The practical man, upon whose munificence in the present state of the public mind we shall have to rely for funds to establish this school, will say: What is the necessity for such an institution? What moral obligation rests upon me, as one who desires to use a part of his wealth, to furnish public ends to provide a professional education for the journalist any more than for the butcher or baker? I would answer, only the consideration of more imperative necessity in the case of the former. The latter can wait for his turn. It is to be sincerely hoped that, in course of time, provision will be made for the education of the butcher and baker also. In the meantime, the success of our present social order, rests upon correct views of government and its business in the minds of the people. As our society is at present constituted, the teacher, the lawyer and the journalist are peculiarly powerful in influencing and controlling public opinion. They occupy, to a certain extent, the position of moulders and leaders in affairs of public interest. It is doubly necessary, therefore, that they should be well trained in the investigation of all those vital problems. As matters now stand, however,



they have no opportunity and but little inducement to prepare themselves properly for this work, and when their advice is sought on practical matters, it is generally of a hap-hazard and crude character. Let the opportunity of such education once be given, and let its value be clearly seen, as it undoubtedly will be, and then it may be trusted to take care of itself. In the meantime, however, in this field, as in every other department of reform and progress, good things do not come of themselves. Good wheat does not grow of itself like the tares of the field. It must be planted and watered and tilled. Social progress along the higher lines, is achieved by the efforts of the better class in the community : by the far-sighted and liberal and self-sacrificing. And it is to them that every appeal for better things must be made.

The second objection comes from a great friend of educational advance—the progressive college president. He asks why organize a special school? You are going to divorce subjects which should be kept together. Political Science belongs with Philosophy, and Art, and Literature and pure Science. Why not develop all these subjects within the limits of an expanded Faculty of Arts? My answer is, that I should be very glad, indeed, to see any Faculty of Arts in this country expand wide enough to take in this scheme. But I see no signs of any leaning in that direction, and I am free to confess, that I have but little hope that any will develop itself in the future. Educational progress is accompanied, as noted before, by an ever increasing differentiation in the kinds of schools. This fact is obscured, to a large extent, by the external form of certain higher institutions. The experience of German universities is often quoted as demonstrating in a striking way, the desirability of keeping all branches of pure science together within one close organization or faculty. It is well known that the typical German university consists of four faculties—Law, Medicine, Theology and Philosophy. The latter includes all branches, not clearly falling within the limits of the other three. It is a widespread and, in my opinion, very erroneous idea, that the Philosophical Faculty is a faculty of liberal arts ; that its students are engaged in the pursuit of pure science for its own sake, and that every student has the opportunity to elect what branches

he pleases, and divide his time as he pleases. The real fact is, that the Philosophical Faculty consists of a large number of special courses which are practically prescribed to the student, though in form, they are elective. Few German students enter the Philosophical Faculty for the purpose of obtaining a liberal education. They go to get a special preparation for a given examination, which they will be tested in certain set subjects. The university, it is said, does not prescribe these courses. That is done by the State, but the result to the student is the same.

Suppose the State of Pennsylvania were to pass a law, requiring that all persons who desire admission to any branch of its civil service, should spend three years at the University of Pennsylvania, should then prescribe a state examination in such a number of subjects represented in the curriculum of that institution, as would keep the student busy for three years, and should appoint the university professors who instructed in those subjects, to be examiners in the state examination. How much liberty of choice would be left to the student? He would come to Philadelphia with the expectation of remaining three years, and then entering the civil service. He is theoretically entitled to study what he pleases, but practically he is limited to the subjects in which he must be examined. Now, nearly every German student enrolled in a Philosophical Faculty, is looking forward to entering the civil service of his country in one branch or another, and must consequently fit himself in the subjects required in the corresponding examination. In this is to be found the explanation of the universal complaint in Germany, that the students are giving themselves up to *Besatzung*, and of the further fact that every professor is trying to get his particular subject required in some state examination. The testimony of many eminent German professors, is to the effect that the Philosophical Faculty is but little more than a collection of prescribed courses, and some of them think that the efficiency of these courses is greatly hindered by the fact, that they are all organized within one faculty, instead of being divided as they should be into several, as, indeed, is done in some of the institutions. I have mentioned this point, because I believe that the experience of the German university, rightly understood, favors the view underlying this paper, as to the best means of securing



the highest development of any given department or knowledge, though it is often quoted in favor of a very different view.

I would not wish to be understood as favoring any diminution in the amount of attention devoted to these subjects in our colleges. It should, and must be, very largely increased. But I desire to see a fuller opportunity offered for their study, than any American college is now offering or is likely to offer within the narrow limits of a Faculty of Arts.

There is no objection to the organization of such a school in connection with a college or university. There are, indeed, very many cogent reasons why it should be so organized. The other departments have many resources which would be of great aid to such an institution. It would prevent duplication of libraries and of certain courses, which might be open to students of other departments. And above all, the students themselves would derive great assistance from the scholarly atmosphere which should surround a great centre of learning. But the school should be organized on its own basis, as independent of the other departments, as the Medical or Law schools.

Now, my friends, I have not sketched this outline to you, merely to tickle your imagination with a creature of fancy. I believe that there is a great want in our educational field which is, as yet, unfilled. I think such an institution would fill it, and I desire your active co-operation in securing funds for such an institution. It should be right here in our midst, in this great centre of industry where the serious problems of modern society are revealing themselves in all their sharpness and terribleness; and where, therefore, the data for an inductive study of society are close at hand.

Philadelphia needs such a school, and it would patronize it liberally. The State, nay the Nation, needs such an institution, and if it were worthy they could fill its halls to overflowing with the very cream of the young talent of the country. Fifteen years ago there was no opportunity in Philadelphia to secure a higher technical education, and some people doubted whether there were young men enough in the community to make it worth while to establish a school for this purpose. In 1872 the University of Pennsylvania opened such a school. The attendance regularly increased, until now it has reached nearly two

hundred and fifty. Such a school as I have outlined above, would reach a larger number than even a technical school of the kind just described.

Such an institution might be started on a fairly liberal basis with an income aside from tuition of \$25,000 per year, provided a suitable building were provided, and every cent of income of \$50,000 could be wisely used from the very start.

The University of Pennsylvania, owing to the liberality of Mr. Joseph Wharton, has been able to lay the foundation for such a school as I have above described. The income from invested funds amounts, so far, to about \$7,000 per year, and it has been so judiciously used, that the institution is now able to apply wisely every cent of money given for this purpose, whether it be five dollars or a million.

Who, of Philadelphia's public spirited citizens, will add to this foundation, or will lay a broader and deeper one for such a superstructure?

Appended to this paper, is a proposed curriculum, embracing four of the special courses outlined above. This is not intended to indicate a desirable limit in any course, or even the most desirable form, but simply to suggest the outline of a practicable system, which might be varied to almost any extent, as circumstances might seem to make desirable. New special courses could be added *ad libitum* with every adequate increase of funds.

Provision should, of course, be made for the endowment of research in these departments by establishing resident and traveling fellowships, with sufficient income to enable the holders to devote their whole time to study and investigation along these lines. Funds should also be available for defraying the expenses of special investigations and for the publication of valuable monographs, etc., which should incorporate the results of work done in connection with the institution.

## OUTLINE OF A PROPOSED COURSE.

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### Required of all.

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|           |                              |
|-----------|------------------------------|
| 1st Year. | 1. Political Economy, 3 hrs. |
|           | 2. Civil Govt., 2 "          |
|           | 3. Logic, 2 "                |
|           | 4. English, 3 "              |
|           | 5. Modern Hist., 5 "         |

### Required of all.

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|          |   |        |   |        |
|----------|---|--------|---|--------|
| 2d Year. | 1. Sociology,   | 3 hrs. | } And one of the following<br>Optional Courses. |        |
|          | 2. Administration,  | 3 "    |   |        |
|          | 3. American Hist.,  | 4 "    |   |        |
|          | <b>Optional Courses, — looking to Teaching, Law,<br/>Journalism and Business.</b> |        |   |        |
|          | I.—Logic and Morals,  | 3 hrs. | III.—Cot. His. & Geo.,                          | 3 hrs. |
|          | Anct. History,  | 2 "    | Stylistics,                                     | 2 "    |
|          | II.—Roman Law,  | 2 "    | IV.—Accounting,                                 | 3 "    |
|          | General Jurisprud.  | 3 "    | Com. Law,                                       | 2 "    |

### Required of all.

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|          |                         |  |
|----------|-------------------------|--|
| 3d Year. | 1. Finance, 2 hrs.      | } And one of the following<br>Optional Courses.        |
|          | 2. Economic Hist., 4 "  |  |
|          | 3. Const. Hist., 2 "    |  |
|          | 4. Internat. Law, 2 "   |  |
|          | I.—Pedagogics, 5 hrs.   | II.—Pract. in Reporting and<br>Editorial Writ., 5 hrs. |
|          | II.—Hist. Com. Law, 5 " | IV.—Mercantile Prac. and<br>Manag't of Prop. 5 hrs.    |



# ROSTER.

| SUBJECT.  | First Year. |    |    |    |  | Second Year. |    |    |    |  | Third Year. |    |    |    |  |
|---|-------------|----|----|----|--|--------------|----|----|----|--|-------------|----|----|----|--|
|   | *1          | †2 | ‡3 | ¶4 |  | *1           | †2 | ‡3 | ¶4 |  | *1          | †2 | ‡3 | ¶4 |  |
| Political Economy, . . . . .                              |             |    | 3  |    |  |              |    |    |    |  |             |    |    |    |  |
| Civil Government, . . . . .                               |             |    | 2  |    |  |              |    |    |    |  |             |    |    |    |  |
| Logic, . . . . .  |             |    | 2  |    |  |              |    |    |    |  |             |    |    |    |  |
| English, . . . . .  |             |    | 3  |    |  |              |    |    |    |  |             |    |    |    |  |
| History, Modern, . . . . .                                |             |    | 5  |    |  |              |    |    |    |  |             |    |    |    |  |
| Sociology, . . . . .                                      |             |    |    |    |  |              |    | 3  |    |  |             |    |    |    |  |
| Administration, . . . . .                                 |             |    |    |    |  |              |    | 3  |    |  |             |    |    |    |  |
| American History, . . . . .                               |             |    |    |    |  |              |    | 4  |    |  |             |    |    |    |  |
| Finance, . . . . .  |             |    |    |    |  |              |    |    |    |  |             |    | 2  |    |  |
| Economic History, . . . . .                               |             |    |    |    |  |              |    |    |    |  |             |    | 4  |    |  |
| Constitutional History, . . . . .                         |             |    |    |    |  |              |    |    |    |  |             |    | 2  |    |  |
| International Law, . . . . .                              |             |    |    |    |  |              |    |    |    |  |             |    | 2  |    |  |
| Ancient History, . . . . .                                |             |    |    |    |  | 2            |    |    |    |  |             |    |    |    |  |
| Logic and Morals, . . . . .                               |             |    |    |    |  | 3            |    |    |    |  |             |    |    |    |  |
| Roman Law, . . . . .                                      |             |    |    |    |  |              | 2  |    |    |  |             |    |    |    |  |
| General Jurisprudence, . . . . .                          |             |    |    |    |  |              | 3  |    |    |  |             |    |    |    |  |
| Stylistics, . . . . .                                     |             |    |    |    |  |              |    | 2  |    |  |             |    |    |    |  |
| Cotemp. Hist. and Geog., . . . . .                        |             |    |    |    |  |              |    | 3  |    |  |             |    |    |    |  |
| Accounting, . . . . .                                     |             |    |    |    |  |              |    |    | 3  |  |             |    |    |    |  |
| Commercial Law, . . . . .                                 |             |    |    |    |  |              |    |    | 2  |  |             |    |    |    |  |
| Pedagogics, . . . . .                                     |             |    |    |    |  |              |    |    |    |  | 5           |    |    |    |  |
| Hist. Common Law, . . . . .                               |             |    |    |    |  |              |    |    |    |  |             | 5  |    |    |  |
| Practice in Reporting and<br>Editorial Writing, . . . . . |             |    |    |    |  |              |    |    |    |  |             |    | 5  |    |  |
| Manag. Prop. and Merc. Prac.                              |             |    |    |    |  |              |    |    |    |  |             |    |    | 5  |  |
|   |             |    | 15 |    |  | 15           | 15 | 15 | 15 |  | 15          | 15 | 15 | 15 |  |

\* Teaching. † Law. ‡ Journalism. ¶ Business.



